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# Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony

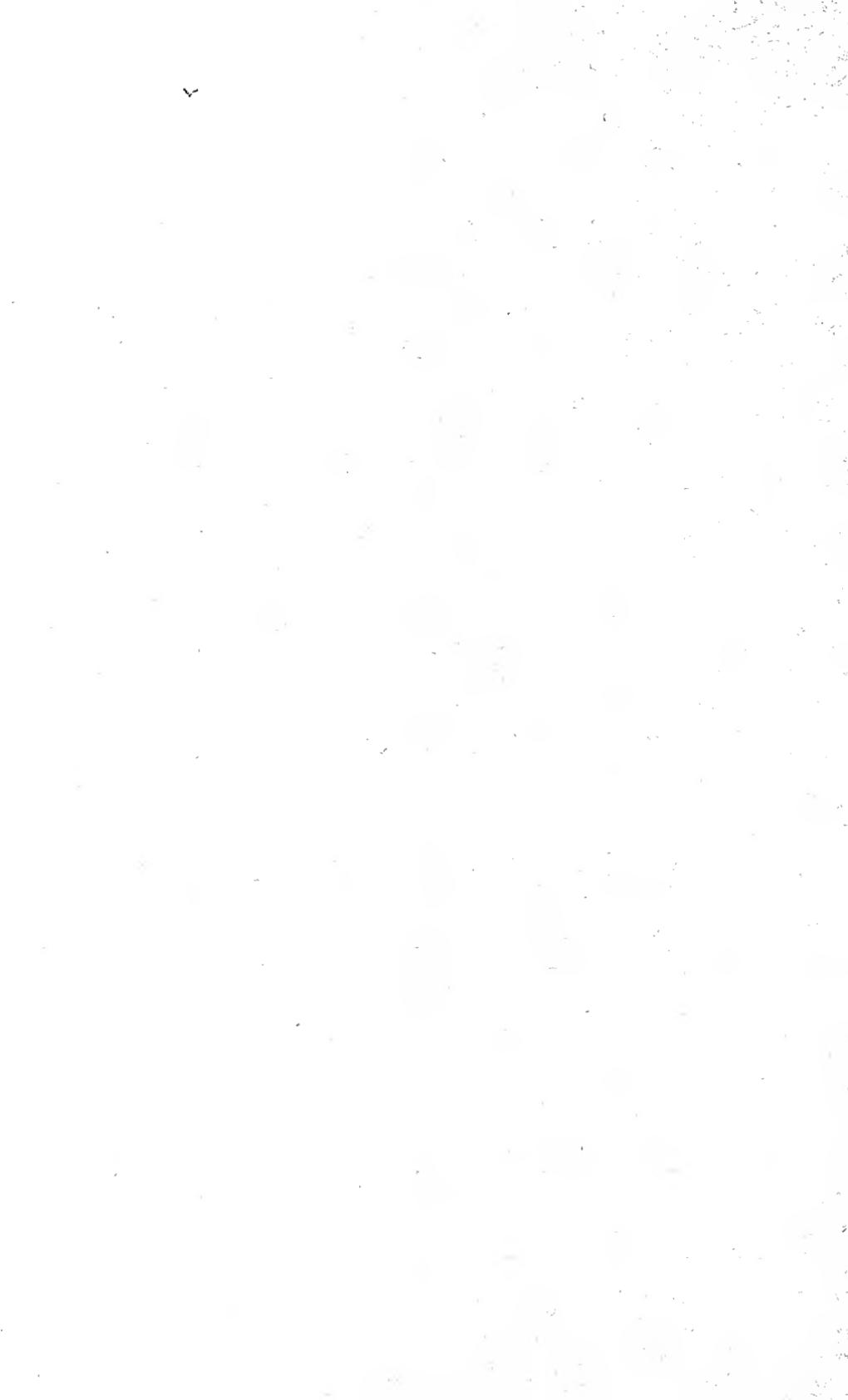


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Island in 1587

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Revised Edition  
by

Hamilton McMillan



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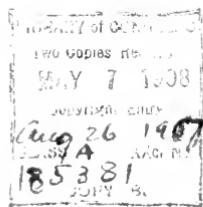
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## PREFACE.

In the pages of this book the author presents the view that the Indians inhabiting Robeson County in North Carolina and counties adjoining, known as Croatans, are the descendants of the English Colony left by Governor White on Roanoke Island in 1587.

These Indians were found on the Lumber and Cape Fear rivers by white settlers in the early part of the eighteenth century, and there were indications of their having dwelt there for a long period prior to the coming of white men. Lands were held in common among them till it became necessary for them to obtain grants from the King of England. The oldest land grant extant is that of one hundred acres granted to James Lowrie and Henry Berry by George Second, 1732. Henry Berry is claimed by tradition to have been a lineal descendant of Henry Berry, of the Roanoke Colony.

While they possessed many Indian characteristics, they spoke English, cultivated the land and practiced many of the arts of civilization. They were enrolled in the militia, exercised the right to vote, attended the white schools and seemed contented with their lot.

In 1864 an incident occurred which led to the investigation of their traditions.

Three young men of a Lowrie family were conscripted by the Confederate authorities to work on the batteries at Fort Fisher, and while on the road to the nearest railway station were killed, it is supposed, by the officer who had them in charge. The funeral of these young men was numerously attended by whites and Indians, and an old Indian named George Lowrie, made a short address, the substance of which is as follows: "We have always been the friends of white men. We were a free people long before the white men came to our land. Our tribe lived in Roanoke, in Virginia.

When the English came to this land we treated them kindly. One of our men went to England in an English ship and saw that great country. We took the English to live with us. There is the white man's blood in these veins as well as that of the Indian. In order to be great like the English we took the white man's religion and laws, for we were told that if we did that, we would prosper. In the fights between the Indians and white men we always fought on the side of white men. We moved to this land and fought for liberty for white men, yet white men treated us as negroes. Here are our young men killed by a white man and we get no justice, and that in a land where we were always free."

The incident above alluded to occurred during the civil war, and it was not till 1875 the author became a citizen and found opportunity of investigating the traditions prevalent among them. The result of many years of patient investigation is presented in the following pages.

The name Dare is pronounced among this people variously as *Darr*, *Dorr* and *Durr*. We traced the Durrs to Lincoln County, North Carolina. The name Dorr occurs among the soldiers enlisted in Robeson County in the War of 1812.

In preparing this work for publication, the author is indebted to Mr. James M. Black, of the firm of A. D. Black & Son, of Red Springs, N. C. The author is also indebted to the kindness of D. Appleton & Co., of New York.

To the favorable consideration of the public this volume is respectfully submitted.

HAMILTON McMILLAN.

Red Springs, N. C.

# SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S LOST COLONY.

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## CHAPTER I.

In 1583, "Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the faith," granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns forever, letters patent "to discover, search, find and view such remote and heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, to every or any of them shall seem good, and the same to have, hold and occupy and enjoy, to him, his heirs and assigns forever."

It was provided that a settlement should be made in the territory granted within six years next succeeding the date of the letters patent.

This grant was made during one of the most critical periods of British history. The Protestant Elizabeth had espoused the cause of the Netherlands and had given high offense to Spain by rejecting the proposed matrimonial alliance with Philip, the reigning monarch of that country. The Armada, consisting of one hundred and forty ships of war and carrying fully thirty thousand men, threatened an early attack upon England. Powerful allies stood ready to assist King Philip. The length of time necessary to complete this powerful armament had afforded to Queen Elizabeth opportunity to prepare for the impending danger. Sir Walter Raleigh then enjoyed high favor at court. The Queen early discovered his soldierly qualities and intellectual ability and, in addition to high rank which she bestowed upon him, readily granted him and his heirs extensive territory in North America.

Raleigh was one of the most skillful generals of his time, and while actively engaged in the preparation for resisting the threatened invasion of England, found opportunity to fit

out an expedition to the coast of North America to make discoveries and to locate a colony in compliance with the terms of his grant. The commanders of the expedition were Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, who sailed from the coast of England on the 15th day of April, 1584, O. S., and reached the coast of America in July of the same year. They sailed along the coast for one hundred and twenty miles before they found any entrance or river issuing into the sea. These navigators probably entered at Hatteras Inlet on the coast of what is now North Carolina, and having anchored "within the haven's mouth on the left-hand of the same," they went in boats "to view the land adjoining and to take possession of the same in right of the Queen's most excellent majesty as rightful Queen and Princess of the same." The land thus taken into possession included Roanoke Island, which was seven leagues distant from the anchorage.

After a stay of two months, the expedition returned to England carrying two of the natives, Manteo and Wanchese. The disposition of the natives toward the English was friendly, and though no reason is given for carrying these two Indians to England, it was probably understood that another expedition would soon follow and they could return to their own country at an early day. There was good policy in impressing them, as prominent men of their own country, with the greatness of England.

Manteo and Wanchese returned in another expedition to Roanoke, the former to become Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuk, the latter to become the determined enemy of the English.

The second expedition, under Sir Richard Grenville, the cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed from England on the 9th of April, 1585. This expedition consisted of seven vessels, and arrived at Roanoke during the month of July following. In August Sir Richard Grenville returned to England after leaving a colony on Roanoke Island under Master Ralf Lane.

Lane explored the surrounding country, making many valuable discoveries, and finally despairing of aid expected, embarked with his entire colony on the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, which had stopped at Roanoke, and sailed for England.

The departure of Lane's colony left no Englishmen on the shores of North America.

In less than one month from the departure of Lane, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Roanoke with supplies and, after a fruitless search for the colonists, he left fifteen men on the island to hold possession of the country. After the departure of Grenville these men were seen no more by Englishmen. Not discouraged by repeated failures, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out another expedition under John White as Governor, who with others of the colonists were incorporated as "The Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia." The city of Raleigh was designed to be built on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay.

Governor White was instructed to call at Roanoke Island to ascertain the fate of the fifteen men left there by Sir Richard Grenville. The commanders of the ships seemed to have been independent of the authority of Governor White, and being fully aware that a voyage to Chesapeake Bay would delay the expected cruise in the West Indies, refused to transport the colony to its destination, and thus compelled Governor White to stop at Roanoke Island. The vessels departed soon after in search of Spanish prizes.

After meeting many incidents, Governor White relates that on the 13th of August our savage Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoke and called Lord thereof and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful service." "The 18th, Eleanor, daughter of Governor White, and wife of Ananias Dare, one of the colonists, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia."

Governor White relates that a violent tempest arose on the

21st of August, which lasted for six days and threatened the destruction of one of the vessels then ready to sail for England. At the solicitation of the colonists, Governor White was sent back to England to obtain supplies and to act as factor for the colony.

The Croatan Indians who visited Roanoke Island, and who were very friendly to the English, had invited the colonists to reside with them, and they, prior to the departure of White, had expressed to him their intention to accept the invitation and remove fifty miles "*up into the main.*" It was understood that if they went to Croatan they were to carve the word Croatan on the bark of a tree in some conspicuous place, that the Governor might know where to find them on his return from England. It was further understood that if they left the island in distress, they were to carve the Christian cross above the word Croatan. On the 27th of August, 1590, Governor White sailed for England and the colonists were seen no more by white men.

On his arrival in England Governor White found all things in commotion. The long threatened storm of war had burst upon England, and the services of Sir Walter Raleigh and others who were interested in the distant colony were enlisted in the national defense. It was a critical period of British history. Queen Elizabeth relied upon the skill of Raleigh, under whose guidance the formidable Armada was defeated and "liberty of person and liberty of conscience were once more free."

On the 22d of April, 1588, Governor White, by aid of Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed from England with two barques, to visit the colony at Roanoke. These vessels, disabled in fighting ships encountered during the voyage, were compelled to return to England, and no further attempt to reach the colony was made till the 20th of March, 1590, when White again sailed for Virginia with three vessels. Nearly six months passed before the vessels reached Roanoke in the following August.

In his account of this voyage as published by Hakluyt, Governor White says that "on the 15th of August, toward evening, we came to anchor at Hatterask in  $36^{\circ} 1\text{-}3^{\circ}$ , in five fathoms of water, three leagues from the shore. At our first coming to anchor on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the isle of Roanoke, near the place where I left our colony in the year 1587, which smoke put us in good hope that some of the colony were there expecting our return out of England. The 16th, and next morning, our two boats went ashore, and Captain Cook and Captain Spicer and their company with me, with intent to pass to the place at Roanoke where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship, we commanded our master gunner to make ready two minions and a faleon, well loaded, and to shoot them off with reasonable space between every shot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find some of our people."

Omitting some unimportant details, we extract from White's narrative as given by Hakluyt, the following:

"Our boats and all things filled again, we put off from Hatterask, being the number of nineteen persons in both boats; but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile, when we espied towards the north end of the island (Roanoke) the light of a great fire through the woods, to which we presently rowed. When we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar tunes and songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer. We therefore landed at daybreak, and coming to the fire we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamonguepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side round about the north point of the island until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1587. In all this way we saw

the prints of the savages' feet of two or three sorts trodden in the night, and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree in the very brow thereof, were curiously carved these fair Roman letters: C. R. O., which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated *according to a secret token agreed between them and me at my last departure from there*, which was, that in any way they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place where they should be seated; *for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke fifty miles into the main*. Therefore, at my departure from them in August, 1587, I willed them that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that they would carve over the letter or name a cross (X) in this form, but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this, we passed through the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down and in their place very strongly enclosed with palisade of great trees, with curtains and flankers, very fortlike, and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the ground, in fair capital letters, was graven 'Croatan,' *without any cross or sign of distress*. This done we entered into the palisade, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron locker shot and such like heavy things thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. But although it grieved me much to see such spoil of my goods, yet, on the other side, I greatly joyed that *I had safely found a certain token of their being at Croatan*, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends."

Foul weather compelled Governor White to return to the fleet, and on the following day, with a favorable wind, they prepared to sail to Croatan; but owing to the loss of all their anchors, save one, and the approaching foul weather, it was determined to sail to St. John or some other island southward for fresh water; and after obtaining victuals and nee-

saries in the West Indies and spending the winter there, to return in the spring to seek the colonists at Croatan. One of the vessels, being in a leaky condition, was compelled to sail for England. The other vessels, cruising for awhile in search of Spanish prizes, finally sailed for England, and arrived at Plymouth on the 24th day of October, 1590.

From the story of Governor White, it is evident that Croatan was situated southward from Roanoke Island and upon the coast, for the voyagers attempted to sail to it upon the open sea.

It is probable that the *island* mentioned was one of the long islands curtaing the coast and embraced within the present county of Carteret. It is so located on one of the oldest maps, bearing date of 1666. On a map published by order of the Lords Proprietors in 1671, the peninsula embracing the present county of Dare is called Croatan. Lawson's map of the year 1709 also located Croatan in the same region. The sound immediately west of Roanoke Island still bears the name of Croatan. The name of the island occupied by the friendly tribe was Croatoan, while other localities are called Croatan. The difference in the two names we can not explain, and presume that the two names were pronounced alike. We must remember that the name Croatan was applied to the tribe by the English on account of their occupation of the island of that name. As will be shown in subsequent pages, the friendly tribe of Manteo was of Cherokee origin.

Manteo was made Lord of Roanoke and Dasanonguepeuk, but there is no evidence that Manteo's tribe inhabited either locality permanently or even temporarily. The territory along the coast was occupied by any tribe that saw fit to hunt thereon, and the nomadic character of the Indians forbids the idea of settled boundaries and permanent occupation. The name Croatan carved upon a tree according to the secret understanding between Governor White and the colonists, prior to the departure of the former, was understood by him

to mean an island southward from Roanoke, "for there," he relates, "Manteo was born and the savages *of the island*, our friends."

According to Scrooter's map of Indian localities in North Carolina, the distance from Roanoke Island to Croatan as located on Nuremberg map of 1666, is about sixty-five miles in a direct line across Pamlico Sound. To reach Croatan by the sea the distance is greater, and vessels would have to pass around Cape Hatteras, always dangerous to navigation. On De Bry's Map of Lane's Expedition, in the year 1585, the island of Croatan is located to the south of Roanoke and about the same distance as given on the map of Scroeter. This island is called "my Lord Admiral's Island" by Master Ralf Lane in his letter to M. Hakluyt, Esq., "and another gentleman of the Middle Temple, from Virginia." The expression "fifty miles into the main" by Governor White, in alluding to the understanding between him and the colonists, apparently means "fifty miles into the main" from Roanoke Island, and if this is true, then the colonists were preparing to move into a hostile country, for the region west of Roanoke was peopled by tribes who had shown themselves to be enemies. If they had accepted the invitation of the tribe of Manteo to live with them, why, we may ask, would the friendly Creatahs carry the English among hostile tribes and into a region where they themselves had no abiding place? The island of Croatan was a narrow strip of land separated from the main land by Pamlico Sound, and while occupied occasionally as a fishing and hunting ground by the tribe of Manteo, as their necessities might require, yet it is more reasonable to suppose that these friendly Indians had an abiding place on the mainland and that it was to this place that the colonists were preparing to move on the departure of Governor White for England in 1587. "Fifty miles into the main" from Croatan would locate them in the region called Secotan, between the Neuse and Pamlico rivers. This region was occupied by a tribe called Mandeags or Doegs, as we will show presently.

## CHAPTER II.

After the departure of Governor White, the colonists were seen no more by white men. Dr. Hawks, the historian of North Carolina (Vol. I, page 288), says:

"What had become of them? No man can, with certainty, answer; but any man can readily conjecture what must have been the miseries of these poor creatures, as sickening under hope deferred, they looked from day to day, but looked in vain, for the return of White. They knew nothing of the troubled state of England which prevented his coming, and the mother must have looked sorrowfully upon her child, as each setting day closed another day of suffering and disappointment, and wept as she thought of the starvation of her offspring. The probability is that, driven by want of supplies, perhaps by the savage enemy, they sought an asylum among their friends, the Hatteras Indians at Croatoan."

That the colonists did remove to Croatan and that they did not leave in distress is clearly set forth in the narrative of Governor White. What became of them?

There is a chart of Virginia extant, which probably was sent by Captain Francis Nelson, who left Virginia on June 2, 1608, (Vide Genesis of the U. S., Vol. ...., page 184), and the legends on this chart are as follows:

"Here remaineth 11 men clothed that came from Roanoke to Oceanahawan."

"LIV says, 'What he knew of the Dominions, he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed like me, and many Kingdoms he (Powatan) describes to me.' The people clothed at Oeamahowan he also confirmed."

"CCVII says, 'Where at Peccaracammick and Oceanahoen, by the relation of Machumps, the people have houses, built with stone walles and one story above another, so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at what tyme this our colony, under the conduct of Captain New-

port, landed within the Chesapeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkeys about their houses, and take apes in the mountaines and where, at Ritanoe, the Weroance Eyanoko preserved seven of the English alive—fower men, two boyes, and one yonge mayd (who escaped and fled up the river Chanoke) to beat his copper, of which he has certaine mynes at the said Ritanee, as also at Pamawank are said to be store of salt stones, tame Turkyes and Monkyes supposed at Paccart-canick.’”

“The three rivers,” says the historian, “given on the chart, south of the James, were probably intended for the Neuse, the Tar and Roanoke rivers. Oceanahowan was probably supposed to be on the Neuse.”

“Here the King of Paspahege reported our men to be and wants to go. Here Paspahege and 2 of our men landed to go to Pananiock.”

The legends on this chart of the year 1608 relate to incidents which happened within twenty-one years after the colony was left at Roanoke and indicate the fact that white men from Roanoke were alive at Ohanahowan on the Neuse River and at Passarapanieck in same region, having stone houses, two stories high, tame turkeys and other evidences of civilization, and Machumps says expressly that the people were taught to build by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoke. What is meant by the slaughter at Roanoke we do not know, unless the allusion is to the men left on the island to hold possession and who were never seen again. The allusion could not be to the colonists left by White, for there was no evidence that they left the island in any distress.

The name Pananiock is variously spelled. On DeBry's map of Lane's Expedition it is spelled Pomeiock and located between Lake Paquipe or Mattamuskeet and Pamlico Sound and in the present county of Hyde. On Scroeter's map of Indian Localities there is a territory designated as Pomonik in the southern part of the present county of Craven.

In a chart sent from England 10th of September, 1608, by Zuniga, the Spanish ambassador to the King of Spain, and first published by Alexander Brown, of Virginia, in "Genesis of the United States," there is a river which we understand to represent the Neuse, and on that river is located Passapanick on south side and Ohanahowan on the north side, with the legend, "Here remayneth 4 men that came from Roanoac to Ohanahowan." This locality was in the territory called Secotan on several maps and within the boundaries of the present county of Craven.

From a "True and Sincere Declaration," published in London December 14, 1609, (Vide *Genesis U. S.*, Vol. I, pages 348, 349), I copy the following: "But to come to our purpose; that which seems to dishearten or shake our first grounds in this supply; ariseth from two principal sources, of which one was cause of the other; first, the Tempest; and can any man expect an answer for that? Next, the absence of the Governor (White), an effect of the former, for the loss of him is in suspense and much reason of his safety against some doubt, and the hands of God reacheth all the Earth. Now if these two be the only Crosses, which stagger the feasableness, consider that of three voyages before, no man miscarried in the way, and that all other depend on these, as the misgovernment of our men, their illness, their want and the empty return of our fleet, wherein if we recover and correct the cause, we vanquish all things consequent unto it, and yet in appearance, if with these we compare the advantages which we have gotten, in the shortness and the security of the passage, in the intelligence of some of our nation planted by Sir Walter Raleigh, yet alive, within fifty miles of our fort who can open the womb and bowels of this country; as is testified by two of our colony sent out to seek them, who, (though denied by the savages speech with them), found crosses and Letters and Characters and assured Testimonies of Christians newly cut in the barks of trees; if we consider the assuredness of the commodities, Wines, Pitch, Soap—

Ashes, Timber for all uses, Iron, steel, Copper, Duyes, Cordage, silk grass, Pearl, which (though discolored and softened by fire, for want of skill in the naturals to pierce them) was found in great abundance in the house of their sepultures."

We copy the foregoing to show that in the year 1609 reports of the existence of "Raleigh's men" were current among the people of England.

From the date of 1609 to 1660 we have no account of the lost colonists of Roanoke.

In Baldwin's "Ancient America," page 285, we find an account of the Welsh in America. The story of Madog's emigration from Wales is related in support of the theory that a Welsh colony was established in the Carolinas. Baldwin says: "It is supposed that Madog settled somewhere in the Carolinas and that his colony, unsupported by arrivals from Europe, and cut off from communication with that side of the ocean, became weak and, after being much reduced, was destroyed or absorbed by some powerful tribe of Indians. In our colony times, and later, there is no lack of reports that relics of Madog's Welshmen had been discovered among the Indians; but generally they were entitled to no credit. The only report of this kind having a show of claim to respectful consideration is that of the Rev. Morgan Jones, made in 1686, in a letter giving an account of his adventures among the Tuscaroras. These Tuscarora Indians were lighter in color than the other tribes, and this peculiarity was so noticeable that they were frequently mentioned as "White Indians."

Mr. Jones's account of his experiences among them was written in March, 1686, and published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1740, as follows:

REV. MORGAN JONES'S STATEMENT.

"These presents certify all persons whatever, that in the year 1660, being an inhabitant of Virginia, and chaplain to Major-General Bennett of Mansonan (Nansemond) County,

the said Major-General Bennett and Sir William Berkeley sent two ships to Port Royal, now called South Carolina, which is sixty leagues southward of Cape Fair, and I was sent therewith to be their minister.

"Upon the 8th of April we set out from Virginia and arrived at the harbor's mouth of Port Royal the 19th of the same month, where we waited, for the rest of the fleet was to sail from Barbadoes and Bermuda with one Mr. West, who was to be the deputy governor of said place. As soon as the fleet came in, the smallest vessels that were with us sailed up the river to a place called the Oyster Point; there I continued about eight months, all of which time being almost starved for want of provisions: I and five more men traveled through the wilderness till we came to the Tuscarora country.

"These Tuscarora Indians took us prisoners, because we told them we were bound to Roanoak. That night they carried us to their town and shut us up close, to our no small dread. The next day they entered into a consultation about us, and after it was over, the interpreter told us that we must prepare ourselves to die the next morning, whereupon, being very much dejected, I spoke to this effect in the British (Welsh) tongue: 'Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I be knocked on the head like a dog?' Then presently came an Indian to me, which afterward proved to be a war captain belonging to the Sachem of the Doegs (whose original, I find, must needs be from the old Britons) and took me by the middle, and told me in the British (Welsh) tongue I should not die, and thereupon went to the Emperor of the Tuscaroras, and agreed for my ransom and the men that were with me.

"They (the Doegs) then welcomed us to their town, and entertained us very civilly and cordially four months, during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British (Welsh) language, and did preach to them three times a week, and they would confer with me about anything that was difficult therein, and at our departure they abundantly supplied us with whatever was necessary to our support and well doing. They were settled upon Pontigo River, near Cape Atross. This is a brief recital of my travels among the Doeg Indians.

"MORGAN JONES.

“The son of John Jones, of Basateg, near Newport, in the county of Monmouth. I am ready to conduct any Welshman or any others to the country.

“New York, March, 1685-6.”

This letter was written by a minister of the Church of England, a hundred years after the colony was left at Roanoke, and was written evidently in support of the story of emigration to America of Prince Madog or Madoc, as told in the chronicles preserved in the abbeys of Conway and Strat Flur in Wales. The locality is described as situated on the Pontigo River and near Cape Atross. The name Pontigo is now known as Pamlico. The old Indian name was Pamtieo. The Cape mentioned is now Hatteras.

The historian asks, “What shall be said of this statement? Were the remains of Prince Madog's company represented in these 'Doeg' Tuscaroras? He is very explicit in the matter of language, and it is not easy to see how he could be mistaken. They understood his Welsh not without needing explanation of some things 'difficult therein.' He was able to converse with them and to preach to them in Welsh, and yet if he got an explanation of the existence of the Welsh language among these 'Doegs' or sought to know anything in regard to their traditional history, he omits entirely to say so.”

If we have located the Tuscaroras correctly, they resided in the west of the Doegs and the latter dwelt in the region known as Secotan. If the English colonists moved “fifty miles into the main” from Croatan Island they must have dwelt in the region where Rev. Jones found the Doegs. In one of the old maps there is a tribe of Indians mentioned as living in this same region, who were called Mandoags, and the Doags and Mandoags may have been the same. The Mandoags may have been the remains of Madog's colony. The name Madog in the lapse of four hundred and ninety years may have been changed to Mandoag.

The Rev. Jones had been living among, and preaching to, English-speaking people before this experience among the

Tuscaroras, and it is reasonable to infer that the interpreter who was present with him understood English as well as the language of the Indians. The Welsh chronicle says that Madog left Wales in 1170 A. D. with a few ships, going south of Ireland and steering westward. "He described a pleasant, fertile region where his settlement was established. Leaving 120 persons, he returned to Wales, prepared ten ships, prevailed on a large company, some of whom were Irish, to join him, and sailed again to America."

It is a matter of little concern to us whether these "White" Indians in 1660 A. D. spoke Welsh or English, as the prevalence of either language would indicate beyond any doubt that this people had had communication with the white race. We do not infer from Rev. Jones's statement that the Doegs were a part of the Tuscarora tribe. From his preaching to them we may infer that they knew something of the Christian religion before his appearance among them.

The history of this tribe as described by Rev. Morgan Jones is of some interest and worthy of notice.

Harriot, who accompanied Lane's expedition to Virginia, in describing the Indians on our coast, says: "They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deer skins and aprons of the same around their middles, all else naked, of such a difference of stature as we of England, having no edge tools or weapons of iron or steel to offend us withal, neither know they how to make any.

"The language of every government is different from any other, and the further they are distant the greater is the difference. They believe that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one only chief and great God, which has been from all eternity. They also believe in the immortality of the soul, that after this life, as soon as the soul is departed from the body, according to the works it has done, it is either carried to heaven, the habitacle of the gods, there to enjoy perpetual bliss and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to

be in the further part of the world towards the sunset, there to burn continually, the place they call Popogusso."

In reading this account of the religion of the Indians on our coast with whom Harriot came in contact, we may reasonably conclude that at some period they had communication with civilized races from the East, who impressed upon them some idea of faith more exalted than that common among savages. Some may be ready to accept the absurdities of monkish fancy and readily believe them to be descendants of the "lost tribes" who had retained something of the ancient Jewish faith. The difference in color, language, and other characteristics renders it difficult to accept any such theory.

The knowledge of western land is as old as the time of Plato and Solon, who mentioned an island in the west called Atlantis. Dr. McCausland, in "Adam and the Adamite," says that the Persians established a colony in the West Indies a thousand years ago, which, "by abstaining from all admixture with the black aborigines, differs but little from their progenitors in the parent country." Long before the discovery of America by Columbus, the Basques sent fishing vessels to the northern part of America. The Norse records describe voyages to the American coast, reciting facts and dates which are confirmed by Irish and Arabic chronicles, and also by the record on Woman's Island, on our northern coast, bearing date of April 25th, 1135 (vide Mallett's Northern Antiquities). If we discredit the accounts of these early voyages from Europe to America, we may discredit anything of ancient date recorded in history. The Sanscrit syllable *ap* and the Latin root *ak*, both meaning water, are detected in hundreds of names of rivers and bays on the Atlantic coast facing Europe, where vessels driven by the trade winds would probably reach our shores.

We cite these facts in support of the theory that colonies were in past times located on our coast, and in course of time were neglected and forgotten by the parent countries and became absorbed by the native tribes. If this theory is

accepted it will account for traditions of wrecked vessels, prevalent among the Indians, described by Harriot, as well as their religious faith so far above that commonly found among savages.

Prescott, as quoted by Dr. Hawks, in speaking of the Indians found on the Atlantic coast of North America, says: "They had attained to the sublime conception of one Great Spirit, the creator of the universe, who, immaterial in his own nature, was not to be dishonored by an attempt at visible representation, and who, pervading all space, was not to be circumscribed within the walls of a temple."

## CHAPTER III.

After the departure of Governor White from the coast of Virginia in 1590, several expeditions were fitted out at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh for the relief of his distressed countrymen at Roanoke. These expeditions returned with no tidings of the lost colony, and it became the settled conviction of those interested that it perished from starvation or savage cruelty.

After the settlement at Jamestown in 1607, Captain John Smith sent a hardy woodsman to the Chowanoke Indians, who lived near the head of the Albemarle Sound, under pretense of sending presents to their King, but his object was to make inquiries concerning the Roanoke colony. Captain Smith sent two other men to the Mangoaks on the river Nottoway, but they returned as the other had done, without any information except that the white people were all dead. (Vide Williamson's His. of N. C., Vol. 1, page 73.)

Governor White, writing from Newton in Kilmore the 4th of February, 1593, to his friend, Master Richard Hakluyt, says: "Thus you may plainly perceive the success of my *fifth* and last voyage to America, which was no less unfortunately ended than forwardly begun, and as luckless to many as sinister to myself." (Hawks's His. of N. C., Vol. I, page 215.) Four of the five voyages were in search of the missing colonists, and it is surprising to us at this day that Governor White did not call at Croatan Island in one of his voyages at least to make inquiries concerning the lost Englishmen. There was a secret understanding that in case he should not return, that the colonists were to move fifty miles into the mainland and were arranging to move when he left.

It is evident from the story of Governor White, as already quoted, that the colonists went southward along the coast to Croatan Island, now a part of Carteret County in North Carolina, and distant about sixty-five miles from Roanoke Island.

The Mangoacks on the river Nottoway were seated northwest from Albemarle, and it is not surprising that the messengers sent by Captain Smith returned without definite information.

Lawson, an early historian, who wrote in 1714, says: "The Hatteras Indians, who lived on Roanoke Island, *or much frequented it*, tell us that several of their ancestors were white people, and could talk in a book, as we do, the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being frequently found amongst these Indians and no others. They value themselves extremely for this affinity to the English and are ready to do them all friendly offices."

Purchas tells us of several voyages made at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh to discover his lost countrymen, but without success. Commanders of ships, in those days, were more anxious to capture Spanish ships than to find lost Englishmen, and it is doubtful if a single ship touched at Croatan or Roanoke after the departure of White in 1590.

Sixty-nine years after the settlement on the island of Roanoke and sixty years before the events related by Lawson, Roanoke was visited by an Englishman, Francis Yeardly, who, in a letter to John Farrar, Esquire, dated May 8, 1654, relates a visit made to Roanoke Island by himself and others, "where or thereabouts they found the great commander of these parts with his Indians ahunting, who received them civilly, and showed the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort, from which I received a sure token of their being there. After some days spent to and fro, in the country, the young man, the interpreter, prevailed with the great man and his war captains to come in and make peace with the English, which they willingly condescended unto." (Vide Hawks's *His. N. C.*, Vol. II, page 17.) So this Englishman saw the ruins of Raleigh's fort and discovered no tradition of the fate of those who built it. Lawson, who wrote a few years later, leaves no account of any tradition of those ancestors who "could talk in a book!."

Rev. Mr. Blair, who was a missionary to the settlements on Pamlico Sound, after describing the difficulties of his situation, writes to his patron Lord Weymouth as follows: "I think it likewise reasonable to give you an account of a great nation of Indians, who live in that government, computed to be no less than 100,000, many of which live among the English, and all, as far as I can understand, a very civilized people." This letter was written in 1703.

Mr. Blair speaks of a desert of fifty miles in extent to be crossed in reaching the place. At the time at which he writes, the descendants of the missing colonists must have held only a tradition respecting the events attending the attempts at colonization on Roanoke Island. The number mentioned by Mr. Blair is evidently an exaggeration and the location of the tribe is indefinite. There is reason to believe that the descendants of the lost colonists were living in a region of country southwest of Pamlico at the time in which he writes, and that they emigrated westward to the interior, where a large body of Indians and descendants of the lost Englishmen had previously settled. It is probable that the civilized Indians, mentioned by the missionary, were a portion of the tribe to-day known as Croatans, as there was no other tribe to which the reference could apply. At that early day very little was known of the region to the southwest of Pamlico Sound, and the missionary may have traveled one hundred miles in reaching the place of his labor, which seemed to be a great distance from other precincts visited by him.

At the time in which Mr. Blair wrote (1703) there were no settlements of white men known to exist beyond the region around Pamlico Sound. Subsequently to that date white emigrants penetrated the wilderness, and in 1729 there was a settlement on Heart's Creek (now Cross Creek), a tributary of the Cape Fear, at the site of the present town of Fayetteville.

Scotehmen arrived in what is now Scotland County as early as 1730. French Huguenots, in large numbers, emigrated

from France to South Carolina, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and some of them had penetrated as far north as the boundary line of North Carolina in the early part of the eighteenth century.

At the coming of white settlers there was found located on the waters of the Lunbee, as the Lumber River was then called, a tribe of Indians, speaking English, tilling the soil, owning slaves and practicing many of the arts of civilized life. These Indians called themselves "Malungeans," and this name is still retained among the Indians in Butler County, Tennessee, whose ancestors are claimed by the tribe in Robeson County to have come originally with their ancestors from Eastern North Carolina. French emigrants, as early as 1690, had settled on Pamlico Sound, where they came in contact with a mixed race, to whom they gave the name *Melange*. The descendants of these people were called Melangeans, and the transition from Melange-an to Malungean was easy.

During the seventeenth century a great plague swept away large numbers of the Indians in the vicinity of Pamlico Sound, and Martin, the historian of North Carolina, states that the disease was smallpox. (Vide Martin's His. of N. C., Vol. I, page 200.) Another colony of French immigrants settled on the Neuse and Trent rivers in 1707. "These last immigrants were all Protestants and brought with them into Carolina their clergyman, Phillip de Richebourg, some of whose descendants are still living in our county of Buncombe." (Vide Hawks's His., Vol. I, page 211.) "After a time," says Dr. Hawks, "he, (Richebourg), with a portion of his people, *proceeded farther south*, and they planted themselves on the Santee River, where De Richebourg died."

In December, 1710, the Germans and Swiss, under De Graffenried and Mitehell, landed at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent and built there the town of New Bern. In the accounts handed down to us of these early settlements, no mention worthy of note is made of the tribe of Indians

who dwelt there in the time of Rev. Mr. Blair, in 1703. If we credit the traditions of the Croatans in Robeson, the greater part of the tribe had previously moved towards the southwest and were settled at various places along the great trails leading from the mountains to points on the coast.

## CHAPTER IV.

At the coming of white settlers in the early part of the eighteenth century, there was an Indian settlement in Sampson County, North Carolina, and another at "Indian Wells," on the south bank of the Cape Fear River, in Bladen County. There were other settlements, at Fayetteville and Averasboro. The largest settlement was on the Lumber River, and the territory occupied by them embraced a large part of the present county of Robeson. There is abundant evidence that the land lying between the Big Raft and Little Raft swamps was a great camping ground. This tribe, now known as Croatans, occupied the country as far southwest as the Pee Dee, but the principal seat was on the Lumber, extending along the river for twenty miles. They held their lands in common and land titles only became known on the approach of white men. The first grant of land to any of this tribe, of which there is written evidence in existence, was made by King George the Second, in 1732, to Henry Berry and James Lowrie, two leading men of the tribe, and this land was located on the Lowrie Swamp on east side of Lumber River and now owned by Hon. D. P. McEachern. This land was on the old Lowrie road, later known as the Camden road. A subsequent grant was made to James Lowrie, 1738. According to tradition there were grants of older date, but no trace of their existence can be found at this time. Many of the tribe at a later period purchased their lands from persons who had obtained large patents from the King.

Occasional bands of immigrants arrived on the Lumber from old settlements towards the east, while others moved towards the Pee Dee, Catawba and French Broad rivers. In the early part of the past century a considerable number emigrated to Indiana, but were not allowed to settle in that State, and while many returned to their former homes, others became incorporated with a tribe then located on Lake Michigan.

These Indians had great roads or trails connecting their settlements with the principal seats of the tribe (the Cherokee) in the Alleghany Mountains. One of these roads extending through the upper part of South Carolina and passing through Marlboro County in that State and through Robeson, Cumberland, Sampson, Duplin, Jones and Craven counties in North Carolina to "Roanoke." This great road was known throughout its entire length as the "Lowrie Road," but is only known by that name at this time in Robeson and Cumberland counties. There was another road from the mountains in Buncombe County almost directly east and uniting with the Lowrie road at Fayetteville. The Morganton and Yadkin roads, leading from the mountains to the present town of Fayetteville, were originally Indian trails leading to hunting and fishing grounds in Eastern North Carolina and uniting with the great Lowrie road at the Cape Fear River, near the mouth of Cross Creek. These trails were subsequently adopted as post roads, and in many places, especially in Cumberland and Robeson counties, were straightened in 1817 by General Bernard, who came to America after the battle of Waterloo, and obtained control of the postal routes leading from the town of Fayetteville. We have traced the great Lowrie road only as far to the east as the ancient settlement in Sampson County, and find there was a branch of it leading to a crossing at Averasboro on the Cape Fear. From what we can gather, in investigating the traditions among the Indians, this branch road was used when the streams along the original route were swollen by freshets. This Lowrie road, leading to Eastern North Carolina, passed through territory occupied by the Tuscaroras, a warlike tribe, and if these Indians took offense against Rev. Morgan Jones and his companions because they were going to Roanoke, it is probable that the island was occupied by some tribe not friendly to them. Why these travelers were going to Roanoke is not explained. The Croatans of Robeson and other counties claim to be of Cherokee descent, and it is possible that enmity

existed between these powerful tribes. It was among the Cherokees that many men were enlisted to fight the Tuscaroras in 1713, when North Carolina called upon South Carolina for assistance. This call was responded to by hundreds of white men, Cherokees and other Indians under Colonel Barnwell. Along the great Lowrie road Colonel Barnwell passed with his army to fight the Tuscaroras. The army took the upper road at Fayetteville and crossed the Cape Fear at Averasboro. Ramsay, in his history of South Carolina, says, in volume 1, page 156: "Governor Craven lost no time in forwarding a force to their assistance. The Assembly voted four thousand pounds for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of 600 men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages; 218 Cherokees under the command of Captains Harford and Turston, 79 Creeks under Captain Hastings, 41 Catawbas under Captain Cantey, 28 Yamaseses under Captain Pierce joined the Carolinians in this expedition." This army passed through Robeson County, and there are traditions among the Croatans regarding the army of "Bonnul," as they pronounced the name Barnwell. One of these traditions is that several of the Cherokees, on their return from the Tuscarora war, located in Robeson County and bringing their prisoners with them as slaves. These prisoners intermarried among the Cherokees and became free, as was the custom among Indian tribes.

In 1888 the writer interviewed an aged woman of the Croatan tribe, who may have been ninety years of age, who related that her "faythers" came from "Roanoke in Virginia." When inquiry was made in regard to the exodus of the White Colony from Roanoke Island, she made the statement that the colonists were carried to a settlement on the Neuse River by a chief named Wyonoke, who conducted them by land, as they could not be safely conveyed by water across Pamlico Sound in the frail boats of the Indians. She further stated that the English gradually moved westward. The chief, whose name is mentioned in "Genesis of the United States"

on a previous page, was called Eyanoko and Wyonoke and Eyanoko, were probably one and the same person.

Tradition is an Indian's history. Nomadic in their habits they leave no record of their existence, save camping places, and rude pottery in places where they temporarily dwelt. Along the great Lowrie road there were in early times bands of Indians passing to and from their hunting grounds in Eastern Carolina, and finding resting places at the different settlements along the route.

From the boundary line of South Carolina to the settlement in Sampson county in North Carolina the Lowrie road has been traced and many evidences of civilization were found. Large mounds exist in close proximity to this road in the counties of Robeson and Cumberland. There is a Lowrie road leading from Fayetteville, N. C., in a westerly direction through upper Robeson, and from the crossing of Lumber River running almost directly west through the counties of Scotland, Richmond and Anson and on to the mountains. On this road and on the main Lowrie road are found numerous mounds indicating that battles had occurred there in past times. The bones found in these mounds are, in every instance under our notice, those of adults. The crania found in these mounds are all of Caucasian type and show greater intellectual development than those of savage Indians.

In a mound immediately beside the Lowrie road at Davis's bridge in Cumberland County numerous bones were found in a good state of preservation. In Starling's Mills Township, in Robeson County, a large number of skeletons were found, and in many instances the bodies were buried with faces downward, and the bones were in excellent state of preservation, though they quickly crumbled on exposure to the air. The skulls were all of Caucasian type. The mounds examined are all evidently very old, and two mounds are generally found in close proximity to each other, with a stream of water or a marsh intervening. Nine mounds were examined, all circular in shape, and raised from two to three

feet above the ground. In all the mounds examined there was an entire absence of any arrow or spear points, and only in one instance did we find a broken stone hatchet. The arrow points, usually attributed to the Indians, are found over the entire North American continent, in the British Isles, in continental Europe and in Australia and China, and evidently belong to an older race than that of the Indian.

The Cherokees, from whom the Croatans claim descent, were to some extent an agricultural people. The clay pottery found in this section is ornamented by having a full ear of corn rolled over the surface while the material of the pottery was in a plastic state. In the beginning of the War of Independence the colonial troops captured thousands of bushels of corn among the Cherokees in the mountains of Western North Carolina.

When the first settlers entered the land near the present town of Hope Mills in Cumberland County they found an ancient dam on Little Rockfish Creek, and remains of a mill for grinding. The mill rocks are still buried in the sand in the bottom of the stream. This mill was distant about one mile from the Lowrie road. Within a mile of this road and about one-half a mile west of the town of Hope Mills No. 1 there were found situated on a sand hill what were called the "Indian Walls." These walls remained till about the year 1837, when they were removed by the Rockfish Manufacturing Company and used in the construction of a cotton mill. The material was red sand-stone, and may be seen to-day in the basement story in the east end of Hope Mills cotton factory. The structure was originally about forty by sixty feet and must have been two stories in height, though the walls had fallen to only six or seven feet above the surface. Red sand-stone is abundant in that region, but no quarry has yet been found where the material was obtained.

A few miles east of the Lowrie road and on the west side of the Cape Fear River was an immense swamp, and in cutting a canal to drain it in 1860 a great crossway was dis-

covered leading towards the east, and on this crossway trees were cut whose concentric grains showed an age of two hundred years.

As we progressed toward the southwest in our investigation, we found abundant evidence of a very great population in this region in former times. Thousands of camping places are found in the territory lying between Big Raft and Little Raft swamps, and this region must have been the abiding place of many thousands of people. While the Croatans claim that this whole region was occupied by their ancestors, yet they furnish no particular tradition as to those who left walls of stone and other evidences of civilization!

We have historic and traditional evidence that the great caravans of traders traversed this country and passed along these Indian highways as far west as the Santee and French Broad.

In Hawks's History of North Carolina, Vol. II, page 288, we find the following: "From Colonel Byrd we learn something of the particulars of the Indian trade. Articles fit for the business were imported from England, and the importers either sent them out to the Indian towns at their own risk, or else sold them on credit to responsible Indian traders, who paid for them on their return in skins and peltry. The business carried on by caravans, the goods having been made up into suitable packages for transportation by horses. Each animal carried from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds, and the caravan traveled about twenty miles a day. The number of horses in the most active time of the trade was sometimes as great as a hundred. The trail on which they traveled was always the same, and the journey was as much as two hundred and fifty miles from Roanoke River. The goods carried were chiefly guns, powder and shot, hatchets and tomahawks, kettles, coarse red and blue cloth, blankets, some cutlery, brass rings and cheap trinkets. *They took a southwest course from Roanoke and crossed the country and streams between it and the Yadkin and thence passed down to*

the Catawba Indians on the Santee, with whom they had the largest trade. The returns were almost wholly in skins."

Colonel Byrd, whose statement is here quoted, was one of the commissioners appointed by the State of Virginia to survey the boundary line between that State and North Carolina. He was killed by the Tuscaroras about the year 1712.

If we can rely on the traditions prevalent among the Croatan Indians in Robeson County, the descendants of the lost English colonists were living on the Lumber and at other places in the interior of the State long before the war with the Tuscaroras. Those Indians living at that time in what is now Robeson County were on the line of march of Colonel Barnwell's army on the way, and no doubt recruits were obtained in this section, though tradition is silent as to that fact. They have traditions that many men on their return from the war settled among them, bringing as slaves the prisoners captured.

An intelligent citizen, now dead, related to the writer that the past generation of Croatans had better preserved traditions of their past history than the present. "Several of them," said our informant, "could locate with accuracy the places in Eastern North Carolina or Virginia, as they called it, where their ancestors lived prior to their removal towards the southwest. The Lochlayahs came from the region near Mattamuskeet Lake, in the present county of Hyde." According to an old chronicler of the tribe, interviewed in 1888, the Lowries are the descendants of a Cherokee chief of that name, who was a prominent man among the Cherokees. In a treaty between the United States and the Cherokees in relation to a boundary along the Santee River in the State of South Carolina, the name of Colonel Lowrie is mentioned as one of the commissioners on the part of the Indians. The name Lowrie is common among the Cherokees in Indian Territory at this time, as stated by a Croatan who visited the Cherokee tribe within recent years. Lowrie, Oxendine and

Lochlayah are the only Indian names preserved among the tribe in Robeson County, as far as ascertained by the writer. The name Maynor or Mayno, common in Robeson and Harnett counties, may be a corruption of the name Manteo. These Maynors are a quiet, law-abiding people, and in Harnett County they have the cross-bow in use and constructed on the model of the old English cross-bow. In the use of this weapon they are very expert, and they frequently interest visitors by splitting a grain of corn as a target at the distance of thirty feet.

## CHAPTER V.

In investigating the traditions prevalent among this singular people, we find many family names identical with those of the lost colonists. For the information of the reader we give a list of the names of all the men, women and children of Raleigh's colony, which arrived in Virginia and remained to inhabit there. The list is found in Hawks's History of North Carolina, and copied from Hakluyt, Vol. I, page 280:

ANNO REGNI REGINAE ELIZABETHÆ 29.

<i>John White.</i>	<i>Richard Shabedge.</i>	<i>William Dutton.</i>
<i>Roger Baily.</i>	<i>Humphrey Newton.</i>	<i>Maurice Allen.</i>
<i>Ananias Dare.</i>	<i>Thomas Coleman.</i>	<i>Williams Waters.</i>
<i>Christopher Cooper.</i>	<i>Thomas Gramme, or</i>	<i>Richard Arthur.</i>
<i>Thomas Stevens.</i>	<i>Graham, Gracme.</i>	<i>John Chapman.</i>
<i>John Sampson.</i>	<i>Mark Bennett.</i>	<i>James Lasie.</i>
<i>Dionys Harris.</i>	<i>John Gibbes.</i>	<i>John Cheren.</i>
<i>Roger Prat.</i>	<i>John Stillman.</i>	<i>Thomas Hewett.</i>
<i>George Howe.</i>	<i>John Earnest.</i>	<i>William Berde.</i>
<i>Simon Fernando.</i>	<i>Henry Johnson.</i>	<i>Richard Wildye.</i>
<i>Nicholas Johnson.</i>	<i>John Start.</i>	<i>Lewes Woton.</i>
<i>Thomas Warner.</i>	<i>Richard Darige.</i>	<i>Michael Bishop.</i>
<i>Anthony Cage.</i>	<i>William Lucas.</i>	<i>Henry Browne.</i>
<i>William Willes.</i>	<i>Arnold Archard.</i>	<i>Henry Rufotte.</i>
<i>William Brown.</i>	<i>William Nichols.</i>	<i>Richard Tomkins.</i>
<i>Michael Myllot.</i>	<i>Thomas Pbevens.</i>	<i>Henry Dorrel.</i>
<i>Thomas Smith.</i>	<i>Robert Wilkinson.</i>	<i>Charles Florrie.</i>
<i>Richard Kemme.</i>	<i>John Tydway.</i>	<i>Henry Milton.</i>
<i>Thomas Harris.</i>	<i>Ambrose Vicears.</i>	<i>Henry Paine.</i>
<i>Richard Tavener.</i>	<i>Edmund English.</i>	<i>Thomas Harris.</i>
<i>William Clement.</i>	<i>Thomas Topan.</i>	<i>Thomas Scot.</i>
<i>Robert Little.</i>	<i>Henry Berry.</i>	<i>Peter Little.</i>
<i>Hugh Tayler.</i>	<i>Richard Berry.</i>	<i>John Wyles.</i>
<i>John Jones.</i>	<i>John Spendlove.</i>	<i>Bryan Wyles.</i>
<i>John Brooks.</i>	<i>John Hemmington.</i>	<i>George Martin.</i>
<i>Cuthbert White.</i>	<i>Thomas Butler.</i>	<i>Hugh Patterson.</i>
<i>John Bright.</i>	<i>Edward Powell.</i>	<i>Martin Sutton.</i>
<i>Clement Taylor.</i>	<i>John Burdon.</i>	<i>John Farre.</i>
<i>William Sole.</i>	<i>James Hynde.</i>	<i>John Bridger.</i>
<i>John Cotsmuir.</i>	<i>Thomas Ellis.</i>	<i>Griffin Jones.</i>
	<i>John Wright.</i>	

WOMEN.	BOYS AND CHILDREN.	CHILDREN BORN IN VIRGINIA.
<i>Eleanor Dare.</i>	Emma Merrimoth.	<i>Ambrose Viccars.</i>
<i>Margery Harvie.</i>	—— Colman.	Thomas Archard.
<i>Agnes Wood.</i>	Margaret Lawrence.	Thomas Humphrey.
<i>Winnifred Powell.</i>	Joan Warren.	Thomas Smart.
<i>Joyee Archard.</i>	Jane Mannering.	<i>George Howe.</i>
<i>Jane Jones.</i>	Rose Payne.	John Pratt.
<i>Elizabeth Glane.</i>	Elizabeth Viccars.	<i>William Wythers.</i>
<i>Jane Pierce.</i>		
<i>Andry Tappan.</i>	<i>John Sampson.</i>	
<i>Alice Charman.</i>	Robert Ellis.	<i>Virginia Dare.</i>
		—— Harvie.

Manteo and Towaye, or Wancheze, that were in England, returned to Virginia with the colony.

Governor John White, at the solicitations of the colonists, returned to England. Simon Fernando, the Spanish pilot of the expedition, also returned. George Howe, one of the "Assistants" of Governor White, was killed by the Indians on Roanoke Island soon after his arrival.

Omitting the name of the perfidious Simon Fernando, we have 120 persons in all, including men, women and children, and about ninety family names represented in the colony. The names in italics in the foregoing list are those which are found at this time in Robeson County and in other counties of North and South Carolina. It is significant that the traditions of every family bearing the name of one of the Lost Colony, point to "Roanoke" as the country of their white ancestors.

If we accept their traditions, they held communication with the coast of North Carolina long after the exodus of the colonists, and it is not improbable that it was a party of this tribe which Lawson describes in 1714 as visiting their old hunting grounds and who described their ancestors as people who could "talk in a book."

As to the intellectual character of this singular people in the past, little can be written, as public schools were unknown prior to 1835, and such education as they obtained up

to that date was confined to reading and writing and the fundamental rules of arithmetic. Since the North Carolina constitution was amended, in 1835, the elective franchise was denied to the Robeson County Indians, till the Canby constitution of 1868 was adopted, which restored to them the right of suffrage and free schools. They had been classed by the politicians as "free persons of color," and under the law of 1868 they were denied the right to attend the white schools. This gave them great offense, as the only chance of public instruction was in the schools provided for the negro race. Hundreds have grown up to manhood and womanhood in perfect ignorance of books. This they preferred to association with the colored race.

Many of this people lived on the Pee Dee, and Richmond County was more generous toward them than Robeson. They continued to vote in that county, as their ancestors had done, from colonial times. Being classed as "free persons of color" in Robeson and Cumberland counties, they were denied the privilege of public school instruction and were denied by law the privilege of keeping or carrying a gun without obtaining a license from the county courts. They quietly submitted to the injustice done them.

By nature they are quick-witted, and judging by the few educated ones among them, they are equal to the whites in mental capacity. Hiram R. Revels, ex-United States Senator from the State of Mississippi, belongs to this tribe. He was born near Prospect Church in the western part of Robeson County, and after a brief residence in Fayetteville, N. C., removed with his father to Oberlin, Ohio, where he graduated and subsequently moved to Mississippi. John S. Leary, a native of Fayetteville, N. C., was educated at Howard University, in the District of Columbia, where he graduated with some distinction. He represented Cumberland County in the General Assembly, became a lawyer, and located finally in the city of Charlotte, where he died in recent years. Although classed as a colored man he had not a drop

of negro blood in his veins. He was considered an able lawyer and for some years was Dean of Shaw University at Raleigh, N. C.

The action of the North Carolina Legislature in establishing separate schools for this people and recognizing them as descendants of the friendly Croatans known to the English colonists, was one great step toward their moral and intellectual elevation. They are almost universally land-owners, and occupy a territory in Robeson County of about sixty thousand acres. Their lands are adapted to the growth of cotton, corn and tobacco.

It has long been a settled conviction that the colonists perished from starvation or savage cruelty. This conviction has arisen from the fact that, after the departure of Governor White, they were seen no more by white men.

The particulars given by Governor White of the understanding which existed between him and the colonists prior to his departure for England in 1587, and his finding the word Croatan on a tree in a conspicuous place, on his return in 1590, seem to prove conclusively that the English had accepted the invitation of Manteo's tribe to reside with them, and that they were at Croatan. Governor White made five voyages to America, four of which were made in search of the missing colony. After four unsuccessful attempts to relieve his lost countrymen, he seems to have abandoned all hope of seeing them again. Writing to his friend, Hakluyt, on the 4th of February, 1589, he says: "Thus committing the relief of my uncomfortable company, the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to help and comfort them, according to His most holy will, and their good desire, I take my leave." (Hakluyt, Vol. . . ., page 288.)

The fact that the English colonists were seen no more by white men does not prove that they perished. The Croatan Indians were seen no more by white men, and the same argument would prove their destruction also. We must remember

that the region of country south and west of Pamlico Sound, embracing Croatan Island and the adjacent mainland, was unexplored for a long period after the attempted settlement on Roanoke Island. In 1609 the northeast corner of North Carolina was settled by colonists from Virginia. In 1654, sixty-seven years after the English colonists were last seen on Roanoke Island, Virginia adventurers had explored as far south as the Pamlico and Neuse rivers. A settlement was made on Albemarle Sound in 1656. A colony from Massachusetts was located on the Cape Fear in 1660, but was soon abandoned. Sir John Yeamans's colony landed on the same river in 1664. In 1690, more than one hundred years after the colony was last seen on Roanoke Island, a French colony from Virginia settled on Pamlico Sound. Emigrants from Albemarle also located in that region in 1698.

We cite these facts to show how little was known, from 1587 to 1690, of the region where tradition says the English colonists were located.

In 1690, the date of the settlement of the French on Pamlico Sound, all the English must have been dead, and the sad story of the colony was held only in tradition, and that the descendants remaining in that region, on the approach of the new colony, removed farther into the interior where, according to tradition, portions of the tribe had previously located.

The traditions of the Indians in Robeson County are sufficiently clear to prove that at an early period their ancestors at one time were located on the mainland southwest of Pamlico Sound.

Traditions in regard to their ancient dwelling places on the Cape Fear and the tributaries of the Black River, in the present county of Sampson, are more definite.

The fact that English, French, Irish, and perhaps German names are found among them is accounted for by the tradition that marriages frequently occurred between members of the tribe and the early immigrants. Chavis is probably a corruption of the name Cheven, a name found in the

list of the colonists. Goins was originally O'Guin, as our court records prove. Leary, pronounced Layree, was O'Leary. Blanks was originally Blane.

Notwithstanding family names of different nationalities are found among this people, the Robeson County Indians have been, from the earliest settlement by white men, an English-speaking race. Their language has many peculiarities and reminds one of the English spoken in the days of Chaucer. A number of old English words, which have become obsolete in English-speaking countries, are in common use among them. The custom of raising patches of tobacco for their own use has been handed down from time immemorial. In traveling these people march in "Indian file," and, like all Indians, they are fond of bright red colors. They exhibit much skill in building, but in road making they excel. Some of the best roads in North Carolina can be found within their territory. They are universally polite and hospitable to strangers. They are proud of their race and their English ancestry.

Their traditions are generally preserved by the old members of the tribe, but the tradition universal among them, from infancy to old age, is that they are descended from the Cherokees and English, and that their ancestors came from "Roanoke in Virginia."

By Virginia they mean Eastern North Carolina. In religious faith they are generally Baptists and Methodists.

"They never forget a kindness, an injury nor a debt," said an old citizen. "They may not pay you when a debt is due, as they are poor financiers, but they seldom forget an obligation, and are sure to pay you after a time." In common with all Indians, they have great respect for the Quakers and look upon them as the true friends of the Indian.

The line of emigration from their location in Eastern North Carolina has been traced as far west as Butler County, Tennessee, on the Lowrie trail running west, and as far as the Santee River on the southwestern trail.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SUMMARY OF THE TRADITIONS OF THE CROATAN INDIANS.

1st. The universal tradition among the Indians found in Robeson County, North Carolina, and counties adjoining, is that they are the descendants of English people and the Cherokees. To inquiry as to whence they came, they invariably respond "From Roanoke in Virginia." This response, we find, refers to their English origin. They persistently designate Eastern Carolina as Virginia. Their white ancestors, they contend, were English people who dwelt in Roanoke "in Virginia," who united with their tribe and gradually moved westward till they reached the Lombee, as the Lumber River was known to them, and that many emigrated to points farther west.

2d. Their Indian ancestors, the Cherokees, according to their tradition, had their principal abiding place in the mountains to the west, and had trails or roads leading to various points on the coast. On the principal one of these roads, known as the Lowrie road, they had settlements on the Neuse River, on the waters of Black River, on the Cape Fear, Lombee, and as far as the Santee in South Carolina. Their principal settlement was in the territory along the Lombee and covering a large part of the present county of Robeson, and extending through what is now Cumberland County as far as Averasboro on the Cape Fear. They had other trails leading from the mountains eastward, and three of them united with the Lowrie road or trail where there was a crossing of the Cape Fear, where the present town of Fayetteville is situated.

3d. Formerly these Indians called themselves "Melungeans," and some of their old people still adhere to that name. The only explanation, given by a recent writer, is that being a mixed race, the early French colonists coming in contact with them, called them *Melange*, which means mixed, and that the descendants of the Melange were called Melange-ans or "Melungeans," as these Indians pronounce it.

4th. Their tradition is that the English amalgamated with their tribe and dwelt with them on the Neuse River. Wyonoke (Eyonoko?) was the Indian chief who conducted the English to their settlement on the Neuse, and part of the journey was made by land. As far as we can understand their tradition, the term Roanoke embraced all the country adjacent to Pamlico Sound. They claim that their tribe was always friendly to white men, and they received the white man's language, religion and laws, and because they were persuaded by so doing they would become great and powerful, and that in all contests they fought on the side of the white men. They complain that the white people have treated them as negroes, and that, too, in a land where they were always free. They have no written history and everything relating to their origin is preserved only by tradition. The trails along which their ancestors traveled are now public highways, along which are scattered remains of stone buildings, roads and cross-ways, rude mills for grinding grain, and mounds enclosing their dead. They are a reticent people, and to strangers tell no secrets of their past history beyond the simple statement that they came originally from Roanoke. Complaining of unjust treatment by the white people, they are ever suspicious of strangers, and only after years of patient investigation has this writer been enabled to chronicle the traditions and facts recorded in these pages.

#### SUMMARY OF FACTS CORROBORATIVE OF THEIR TRADITIONS.

1st. Governor White, in his letter to his friend, Hakluyt, says that, on his departure for England from Roanoke Island in 1587, there was a secret understanding between the colonists and himself, that in the event of his not returning, they were to go to Croatan, and were to carve the name of the place to which they should go, in conspicuous places, and with the Christian cross carved above the name, if they left in distress. On White's return to Roanoke, in 1590, he found the name Croatan in fair Roman letters but without the cross,

indicating that the colonists had accepted the invitation of the Croatan Indians and had gone to Croatan, where Manteo was born and the savages of the island were friends. It seems certain from Governor White's account that the English went to Croatan Island and that they did not leave in distress.

Croatan Island lay to the south and is embraced in the present county of Carteret in North Carolina.

2d. The finding of crosses and letters carved in the bark of trees in the region between the Neuse and Pamlico rivers, in the region known as Secotan, corroborates the statement of White, who states that on his departure for England they were preparing to remove "fifty miles into the main." If the colonists went to Croatan, and from that point removed fifty miles into the mainland, they must have located in the region of Secotan, between the Neuse and Pamlico rivers, and in the very region where Rev. Morgan Jones found the Doegs or "White Indians" in 1660.

3d. The tribe of Indians in Robeson County, now numbering about thirty-five hundred, was at one time more numerous than at present. In the northern part of Robeson County, between the Big Raft and Little Raft swamps, are found thousands of "camp fires," arranged in straight lines and crossing each other at right angles. These camping places show a numerous population in former times.

4th. Remains of stone buildings on the north and south sides of Little Rockfish Creek, a mill for grinding, situated in close proximity to the Lowrie road, together with cross-ways on swamps, iron tomahawks and rods of wrought iron found in a region once possessed by these Indians, afford evidence that the intelligence which constructed them was greater than that ordinarily found among Indians. The mill rocks found on Little Rockfish Creek, and another still preserved near Pate's Station, on Seaboard Air Line in Robeson County, are rude in construction, but answered the purpose of grinding in early times.

5th. The language of these people is old English and similar to that used in the time of Chaucer. Among the numerous uneducated class, *hit* is used *it*, *hwing* for *wing*, *aks* for *ask*, *hosen* for *hose*, *housen* for *houses*, *lovend* for *loving*, *mension* for *measurement*, and *mon* for *man*.

6th. In an old medical work, brought to North Carolina by some immigrants over two hundred years ago, are found many curious remedies for treatment of diseases prevalent among the English in the seventeenth century. It is significant that many of these quaint remedies are in common use among the Indians of Robeson County to-day.

7th. The only name given by these people to their Indian ancestors is Cherokee, and there is communication between persons of this tribe and the Cherokees in the Indian Territory. They are very proud of their English origin, but complain very bitterly of their treatment by the whites in 1835 in depriving them of the elective franchise and classing them "as free persons of color." The iron tomahawk, described by Colonel Byrd as an article of traffic with the Indians over two hundred years ago, is found in Robeson County within their former territory. The old English cross-bow is still used in a Croatan settlement on the Cape Fear. The model is as old as that used in the battle of Hastings.

8th. The scuppernong grape was discovered by the English on Roanoke Island in 1585. This grape is a hybrid and can only be propagated by cuttings, and it is a significant fact that this variety of grape is found along the old Lowrie road from the Neuse River in North Carolina to the Santee in South Carolina.

The early settlers found this grape growing in the region of the Cape Fear, formerly occupied by these Indians, and it is significant of the fact that in early times there was communication with our eastern coast.

9th. That the Croatans served as soldiers in the War of Independence is only a tradition which it is impossible to verify, as no record of enlistments was kept. No one has

ever seen a muster roll of the patriots who fought at King's Mountain or of those who followed Francis Marion, but the fact that many of this tribe enlisted in the United States army in the War of 1812 is attested by the military records in the office of the Secretary of State at Raleigh, North Carolina.

In January, 1885, the author introduced a bill in the General Assembly of North Carolina to recognize these Indians as a separate race and to give them separate schools and a separate school fund. This bill passed both houses of the Assembly unanimously. A census of Croatan children showed over eleven hundred entitled to public instruction under the act of Assembly. A subsequent act was passed at the session of 1887 to establish a Normal School for the training of teachers of the Croatan race. The passage of these acts created much enthusiasm among this people. So eager were they to show their appreciation of friendly legislation that indictments for violation of law followed rapidly and the tribe seemed to forget the past and to be inspired with a new hope.

It is unfortunate for the law-abiding element in this tribe that a comparatively few reckless men, such as are found in all races, whose names appear on the criminal calendars of our courts, should give character to a whole tribe.

Since the recognition of this tribe as a separate race, a great change for the better has occurred in their condition.

The State of North Carolina now makes a liberal annual appropriation in the support of the Croatan Normal School.

A lost colony may be mentioned on the historic page and may excite in the reader "the passing tribute of a sigh," but the historian seldom troubles himself to ascertain the fate of that colony.

Lawson, the historian of North Carolina, who wrote in 1714, speaks of Hatteras Indians with blue eyes and auburn hair, who boasted that their ancestors "could talk in a book," yet if he made any inquiry as to the origin of these Indians,

he failed to mention it. The Rev. Morgan Jones, in 1660, preached for several months in Welsh to the Doegs on Pontigo (Pamlico) River, near Cape Atross (Hatteras), yet if he made any discovery as to whence they came, he does not record it.

The name of Caledonia Bay suggests the sad story of a lost colony of three thousand Scotchmen who, abandoned by their government, were left to perish of disease and starvation on that inhospitable coast.

The "lost tribes" are still "sown among the nations" and becoming great "in the isles beyond the sea," while we appropriate to ourselves the specific promises made the Jews and do not trouble ourselves to trace the "footprints" made by them "in the sands of time."

The saddest story of a lost colony recorded in history is that of the English colony left on Roanoke Island in 1587. We can imagine the grief and anxiety of helpless mothers and of still more helpless children, who strained their eyes daily across the sea for the ships that never came, and weary "with hope deferred" and sick at heart, turned their steps to that resting place in the mainland, to be seen no more by their countrymen.

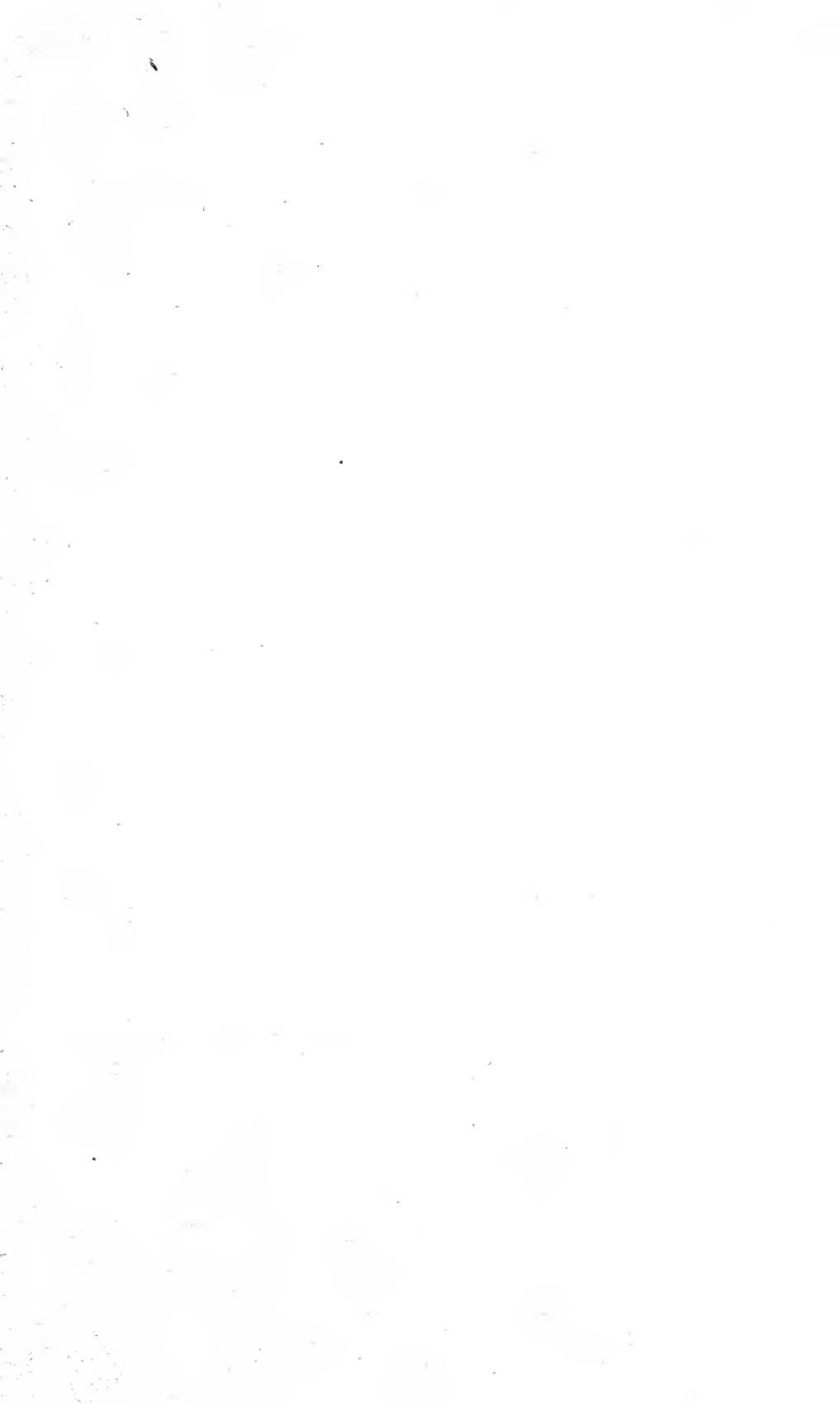
Through centuries of time there comes down to us the sad story of the lost legions of Varus, but the mystery that hung over their fate was at last solved by the army of Drusus, which found their bleaching bones in a German forest near the Baltic Sea.

The fate of Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony, we submit, is revealed in the foregoing pages. To the charitable, who are interested in the moral uplifting of humanity, we heartily commend the Croatans.

THE END.







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